NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
15 cents
VOL. 11, NO. 15 NEW YORK, JANUARY 26, 1959

FROM COAST TO COAST THE WORD WAS: "I LIKE MIKE"
That was the general reaction to the visit of Soviet First Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan (shown above with young Chicago friend). The wise money said that if he were running for office in the U.S. he'd be a shoo-in.

FOREIGN MINISTERS IN SPRING?

Mikoyan visit raises hope for a top-level U.S.-Soviet meeting

By Kumar Goshal

SOVIET DEPUTY Premier Mikoyan's unorthodox visit to the U.S. was a remarkable example of Moscow's ingenuity in skirting seemingly insurmountable roablocks to international understanding.

Washington has repeatedly rejected Moscow's overtures for a frank top-level conference of American and Soviet leaders without a rigid agenda. In such a give-and-take, it felt, there might emerge some areas of East-West agreement, however small, and a measure of understanding.

Against this background Mikoyan came to the U.S. on a tourist's holiday. On the "holiday" he held long conferences with the President, the Vice President, the Secy. of State and several Congressmen. Unhampered by diplomatic protocol, he roamed the country at will and met and talked with more people in all walks of life than he could ever have hoped to do if he had come on official invitation.

CANDID ANSWERS: Time alone will reveal the full measure of Mikoyan's accomplishments. His conversations with high officials, bankers and industrialists remained confidential. But some conclusions may be drawn from his public statements, his candid answers to questions by the press and bits of information dropped by some of those with whom he conferred.

He left no doubt about Moscow's desire for peaceful coexistence; for developing a Soviet living standard second to none; for mutual understanding on the basis of reasonable compromise. Time and again he gave priority to the issue of a Germany that presented no threat to its neighbors. Above all, he expressed pride and confidence in the Soviet social system and insisted that Washington deal with Moscow as an equal.

Mikoyan noted that "capitalism exists" and has achieved "substantial success" in several countries, especially in America; communism also exists and has succeeded in a number of countries, especially the Soviet Union and China. He said:

"Capitalism will continue so long as the people of the country involved will support or tolerate that system . . . Our people do not want or need to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, but we do not want other countries to interfere in our internal affairs either. Competition and peaceful coexistence are better than war and the danger of war."

"LET US COMPETE": He conceded that "Americans today have a higher standard of living than ours. We would like to overtake the Americans, but this surely is no threat to you." He argued that "our success in improving the lot of our people" will benefit people in capitalist countries as well, because capitalists "will improve the condition of their workers' lives so as not to lose their own power or influence." "Therefore," he said, "let us . . . compete with and emulate each other."

Mikoyan insisted that the Soviet position on Berlin and Germany was not in-

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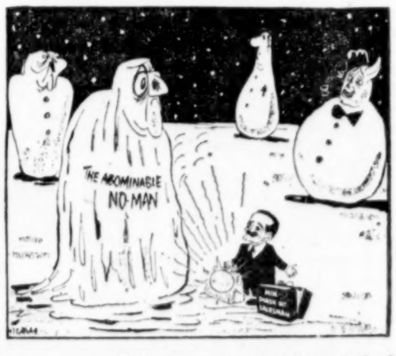
An analysis of the President's Budget Message and the Economic Report will be carried in next week's Guardian.



Vicky in London Evening Standard
"Would you be interested in this red-hot sun—just made in the U.S.S.R.?"

THE CONSERVATIVE GRIP IS STRONG

Pressure on Congress needed to give it liberal backbone

By Louis E. Burnham

IF LYNDON JOHNSON and Sam Rayburn have their way, the record of the newly-convened 86th Congress will sound like a playback of the the 85th. And thus far Texas' chief gifts to the formidable national cult of moderation, Senate Majority Leader Lyndon and House Speaker Sam, have pretty much had their way.

Johnson's rout of the Senate liberals in three successive votes on filibuster rules brought into sharp relief the fact that election returns alone do not determine the balance of power in Congress.

In the House Rayburn didn't even have to work up a sweat to put down the widely-publicized liberal "revolt" against the reactionary power of the Rules Committee and the seating of Little Rock segregationist Dale Alford. When the Speaker curtly indicated that he preferred things just as they are, the liberal warriors retired, in the words of the N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** with "a few snorts and some shuffling of feet."

SECOND THOUGHT: It was as though the Congressional leaders, deaf to the popular mandate implicit in last November's Democratic electoral sweep, came to Washington with the words of the ancient Roman poet, Ovid, ringing in their ears:

> *"Take this at least, this last advice, my son,*
> *Keep a stiff rein, and move but gently on:*
> *The coursers of themselves will run too fast,*
> *Your art must be to moderate their haste."*

The liberal coursers—15 new Senators and scores of freshmen Representatives who gave the Democrats lopsided majorities in both houses—broke from the barrier with a flourish but seemed to slow

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TWO LITTLE BOYS DENIED FREEDOM IN NORTH CAROLINA

'Kissing case' becomes a major civil rights battle

HANOVER THOMPSON and David "Fuzzy" Simpson, the ten- and eight-year-old Negro boys who had been held in a juvenile home in Hoffman, N.C., because of a kiss, had their day in court on Jan. 12. On the initiative of lawyers provided by the national office of the NAACP and the Committee to Combat Racial Injustice, they were brought before Superior Court Judge Walter E. Johnston Jr. in Wadesboro, N.C.

For three hours they sat with their mothers and listened intently as their lawyers argued for their release and State Atty. Gen. Malcolm Seawell opposed it. When the judge decided for the state they clung to their mothers' hands and wept. As they were led out of the courtroom to be returned to the Harrison Training School for Delinquent Boys, it became clear that what had begun as a routine effort to secure humane treatment for two obscure, underprivileged children had become a major front in the Southwide battle for equal civil rights.

'ASSAULT': Principal witnesses were J. Hampton Price, acting judge of the Union County Juvenile Court who had committed the boys last Nov. 4, and Robert F. Williams, local NAACP president, who had spark-plugged a national defense movement.

The kiss had been innocent enough. A seven-year-old white girl had kissed Hanover while the boys and a group of white children were playing in a ditch. But the boys had been held incommunicado for six days in the Monroe city jail, threatened with lynching and then carted off to reform school. The charge had been "assault on females."

National revulsion at the treatment of the children had obviously stunned and angered North Carolina officials. Gov. Luther H. Hodges had sent long letters to GUARDIAN readers and other citi-

(Continued on Page 10)

THE MAIL BAG

Changing the world

READING, VT.

I mail every copy of my GUARDIAN bundle, including my own after I have finished with it, to someone of importance in public life—lawyers, town officers etc., and I do believe I have helped change Vermont politics. Our new Congressman, William Meyer, has received the GUARDIAN via myself and I noticed that Sam Ogden, **Rutland Herald** scribe, said in an article that he didn't dare to vote for anyone else because of Meyer's stand on foreign affairs and bomb tests. Sam has received the GUARDIAN from me.

Keep up your good work. I have no criticism to offer. Hope we can get Belfrage back here and soon. Good luck to all you folk of good will.

John Kangas

Space-saver

BLOOMFIELD, CONN.

Here's a suggestion:

Cut out that "How Crazy Can You Get" Dept. and replace it with a box entitled "Signs of Common Sense in our Government Officials." This would require only a short blank space below the heading and give more room for your interesting letters.

Fred M. Mansur

A Forty-Niner writes

SPENARD, ALASKA

Congratulations on Bendiner's article, "Alaska: A Frontier Land and Spirit."

You said that our Alaska labor movement is mostly middle-of-the-road. From what I read and see, it appears that our middle-of-the-road officials are left of your labor movement in the old 48. It also appears that even our conservative and reactionary Republicans are as progressive, or better, than the so-called "liberal wing" of the Northern Democrats down there.

As an old sourdough (native) of Alaska, I'm glad you correctly pointed out there is a lot of opportunity opening up in our new state. Unfortunately, you did not clarify in your readers' minds the wrong impression about our weather. Sure, we are quite a distance north. It gets cold in the winter. But I have seen it a lot colder down in St. Paul, Chicago, Detroit and New York City.

We have wonderful warm, pleasant summers. In the interiors we have plenty hot summers. Our state is warmed by the same Japanese stream that sweeps on down the West Coast and warms Washington, Oregon and California.

Of course, up in the Arctic tundra areas of the north, which only amounts to about one-quarter of the state, it is cold about nine or ten months a year, but the rest of Alaska has quite mild climates year around.

As you put it, Alaska has many needs but the greatest of all is people, settlers, people with foresight and wisdom, get-up-and-go. When more people down there find out about the wonderful chances in our state and about the comparative mildness of our climate, I feel sure that millions will come up and settle. Quite a few of us hope that many among those millions are GUARDIAN readers and families. Regards and thanks.

Ivan T. Eganovich,
R.F.D. 2, Box 41, Mile Post 39

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Have you seen the Soviet rocket that is supposed to have passed the moon and is now circling the sun? No one in connection with this newspaper has. We haven't found any other person who has. Some scientists have reported that it is up there, but who knows whether the Russians even shot the rocket UP?

This newspaper's guess is that there is no Russian rocket circling the sun, that the whole thing is merely a propaganda background for the arrival of Communist Deputy Premier Mikoyan.

—Editorial in Manchester, N. H., **Union Leader, 1/6.**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: L. D., Hudson, N.H.

Fellows

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Marx is the Jules Verne of Social Science.

Harry Fries

Overhauling

BRONX, N.Y.

Our old age social security needs an overhauling. At present benefit payments vary, being based on past earning capacities. This is unjust. Everyone eligible after 65 should receive the maximum benefit. All earnings should be taxed in full, no exemptions, so that there will be sufficient funds to take care of these benefits.

There should be socialized medicine that takes care of all one's requirements when one is sick, ill or incapacitated.

L. Herman

Where to tax

NEW YORK, N.Y.

From both Republican Albany and Democratic New York City comes a fresh attack on the living standards of workers. It requires considerable ingenuity to devise nearly 20 new taxes without stumbling across one that would hit corporations and businesses, but Rockefeller (Republican) and Wagner (Democrat) have managed it. Every tax so far proposed is a tax on consumers, with two exceptions, the betting tax and the new income tax brackets.

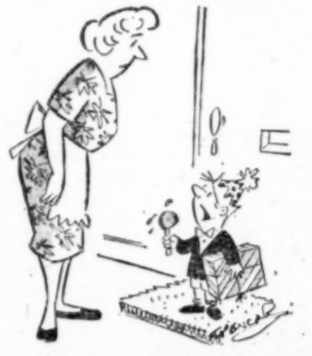
I would like to suggest the following possibilities for additional revenues:

1. Since 1945 the personal income tax rates have increased 100%, while corporation rates are 22¼% higher and unincorporated businesses pay 25% more.
2. Commercial real estate in New York City is underassessed. The real values are 33 1/3 to 50% higher than the assessments.
3. The city has no stock transfer tax on security transactions.
4. A withholding tax on dividends and interest would certainly reveal that these types of income are frequently not reported.
5. Capital gains are now taxed at half the rates on ordinary income.

Under our Federal system of government it is difficult for states and municipalities to devise new taxes. If the tax gets burdensome many businesses, particularly the larger industrial companies, can move to other jurisdictions, an escape seldom available to the wage-earner. This applies particularly to those states and cities that are trying to provide progressive public services.

The fact is that more and more the Federal government must take the responsibility for services like education, health, housing and transportation. Instead of trying to tax the average citizen, whose paycheck is insufficient to meet the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimate of a minimum standard of living, I suggest that Federal aid in these matters be financed by a graduated tax on the undistributed profits of corporations.

Henry Abrams, chairman,
United Independent-Socialist Committee



London Daily Mirror

". . . . then two men in white coats came and carried his mother away screaming, so we all came home."

Buying a car?

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

As Barrow Lyons says in "Senate Study Reveals . . . GM Superprofits" in your Dec. 22 issue, a brief review cannot give more than a slight idea of the scope of the report. Nevertheless, a few additional points are worthy of mention.

Payments on GM time-purchased cars are usually handled through the General Motors Acceptance Corp., a GM subsidiary. GMAC never speaks of "interest" charges—it always refers to "finance charges"—perhaps in an effort to avoid the usury laws. Sen. Kefauver's report points out that the actual interest comparable to the 6% finance charge for a 36-month prepayment period is 11.2% per year (p. 161). Can this be why GMAC's rate of return on its investment after taxes has ranged between 15 and 20%?

According to a report on GM prepared in 1956 under Sen. O'-Mahoney, a federal indictment charged that GM coerced its car dealers into delivering their finance business to GMAC. GM is the only car-maker now in the finance business—the federal government long ago forced Ford and Chrysler out. Why does GM enjoy a favored position?

Name Withheld

Marx Blashko

SEATTLE, WASH.

It is with deep sorrow that I inform you of the death of my father, Marx Blashko. We honor his memory by continuing the fight for peace, civil rights and equality for all.

Daughter

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE FRUIT OF A VAST and costly effort by a Federal Grand Jury and the telephone-tapping FBI is that 12 men, openly doing business as leaders of the Communist Party, have been indicted and put on trial. What these men are charged with doing—having certain ideas and spreading them—has been done in full view of the nation.

If they are convicted, almost all Americans will feel it where it hurts. Read the history of other countries where the Communist Party has been outlawed. In every case this has been the curtain-raiser to attacks on the people's living standards, on their unions and their civil rights, including those of the very people who joined in the hue and cry against the first victims.

Ideas cannot be killed by putting those who hold them behind bars. They never have been and never will be. It is the common sense of America that is on trial in New York's Federal District Court.

—Editorial in the GUARDIAN, Jan. 24, 1949

NATIONAL
GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly
Guardian Associates, Inc.,
197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y.
Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S.A. Possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $5 a year. First class and air mail on request. United Kingdom 35s a year payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 16 Talbot Sq., London W2, England; otherwise $6 a year overseas. GUARDIAN Paris Bureau, 103 Avenue de Gravelle, St. Maurice (Seine), France. Single copies 15c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. 11, No. 15 401 January 26, 1959

REPORT TO READERS

In business to stay

THE RECONVENING on Saturday, Jan. 24, of friends and supporters of New York's 1958 Independent-Socialist statewide electoral effort signifies the intention of the committee which launched the campaign to stay in business. It will continue as the United Independent-Socialist Committee, "for legislative and political activity, including future electoral campaigns," according to a three-page Statement of Policy and Purpose issued this month.

The political situation in New York "emphasizes the need for energetic independent-socialist activity," the statement says, and continues:

"Rockefeller, who floated into office [as governor] on a tide of liberal demagogy, will not solve or attempt to solve the urgent problems of the working people and minority groups in our state any more than Harriman did. United independent-socialist action is absolutely essential in the fight for peace, civil rights, civil liberties, defense of labor's living standard, and drastic reform of the state's restrictive ballot laws. We invite all socialists and independents to join us in this action."

THE STATE'S NEW REPUBLICAN GOVERNOR, succeeding Democrat Averell Harriman, amply justified the Committee's estimate of him in his first major proposal. He called upon the Legislature for additional taxes on gasoline and cigarettes, and for withholding taxes on incomes of wage-earners under a new schedule of lowered exemptions which would raise income taxes for every tax-paying family in the state and include thousands of low income people not now taxed.

If any survey was made of potential new sources of tax revenue in the state by Gov. Rockefeller's aides, the wealthiest public official in the nation's history disregarded this in favor of pressing down harder on the wage-earner and consumer. Elsewhere on this page the chairman of the United Independent-Socialist Committee, Henry Abrams, points out a number of new sources of revenue which could avoid further tax levies on family incomes. The Independent-Socialists are the only group which has indicated such an approach to state taxes; and a research project set up by the new UISC will undertake in the weeks ahead to interpret its chairman's proposals in terms of dollar income available to the state from such sources.

THE GUARDIAN'S PRESS TIME preceded the UISC Conference Jan. 24 at Adelphi Hall on New York's lower Fifth Av., but the Committee's statement was an indication of the course the discussions would take: analysis of the 1958 campaign, prospects for further electoral efforts, and legislative and political action.

On the 1958 campaign, the Committee had this to say:

"The Independent-Socialist platform represented an achievement in socialist unity. It left unresolved many of the important differences among the participants in the campaign, but it did record the maximum agreement possible consistent with the various positions represented in the Committee. The campaign thus established the basis for a maximum of socialist unity in action . . . ",

"The New York State law requires 50,000 votes for the gubernatorial candidate in order to qualify a political party for a continuing place on the state ballot. . . . Our party did not achieve such ballot status, although our candidate for the Senate did get over 49,000 votes. Despite this disappointment the vote received by the entire ticket, particularly in the upstate areas where it compared favorably with the total independent and socialist vote of 1954, reinforced the Committee's conviction that there should be a continuing United Independent-Socialist Committee."

THE SENATORIAL CANDIDATE was Dr. Corliss Lamont, whose vote was 49,087. John T. McManus and Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, for governor and lieutenant governor, got 31,658; Capt. Hugh N. Mulzac for comptroller, 34,038; and Scott K. Gray Jr., for attorney-general, 31,746. The Committee termed these results "an impressive vote for candidates running . . . with a program identifiable throughout with socialist objectives;" and praised the summertime petition teams which placed the candidates on the state ballot for "energy, enthusiasm and tenacity such as the socialist movement has not displayed in the U.S. in many years."

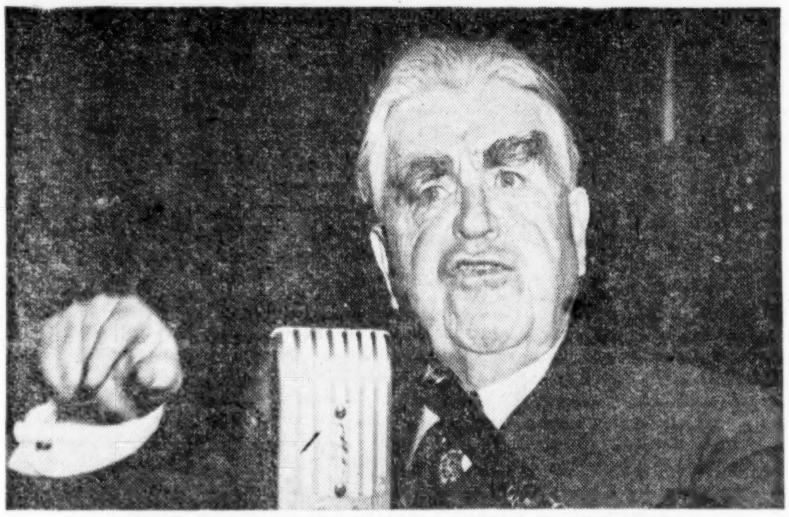
Although the ISP candidates ran behind the 1954 American Labor Party ticket in New York City proper, the 1958 ISP ticket ran ahead of the combined 1954 ALP and socialist vote in some 40 of the 57 counties outside New York City. The decision of the Committee which launched the 1958 ticket to stay in business is a needed stimulus to future independent political action. We are for it.

—THE GUARDIAN

JOHN L.'S PEACE PACT WITH THE OPERATORS

Miners' wages up, but jobs are cut by half

By Elmer Bendiner



JOHN L. LEWIS HASN'T CALLED A STRIKE IN NINE YEARS
His new theory: better conditions for some, nothing for the rest

A TEACHER in the coal mining town of Evarts, Harlan County, Ky., this winter wrote on her official report the reason for a boy's month-long absence from school the single word: "Poverty." In nearby Kenvir 28 children had to stay home because they had no shoes or coats and the weather had turned cold. These are the children of coal miners.

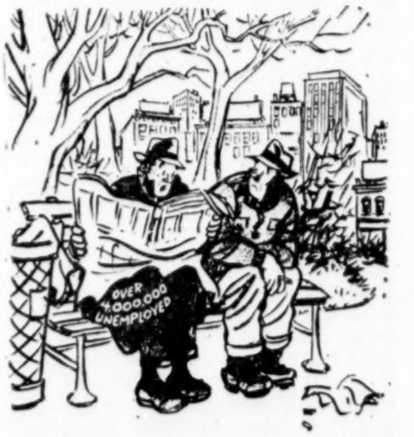
In Washington, D.C., John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, last month announced the signing of a new contract that is perhaps the best in terms of wages and union security won by any union in the country. But it is not likely to put shoes on the children of Kenvir and Evarts.

The new contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Assn. provides a $2-a-day across-the-board raise; $1.20 as of Jan. 1, the remaining 80c on April 1. It puts the average weekly earnings of soft soal miners up to $120 a week. When the pits shut down from June 27 to July 11 this year, in other times a bleak payless holiday, each miner will now collect $200 in vacation pay.

JOHN AND THE SINNERS: A "protective wage clause," the one part of the contract that stirred any real resistance from the mine operators, bans the use of "sweetheart coal" from non-union mines. In the past coal operators have sub-contracted for such coal, worked under conditions far below the union standards. In his statement of triumph Lewis said of the mine owners: "Reluctantly they today make their confessions and agree to 'go and sin no more.'"

Another contract signed for the anthracite miners this month gives them lesser but still substantial gains. They will get a $1 a day raise for an average of $81.79 a week. They used to be on a par with the soft coal miners but the hard coal market has dwindled and the number employed has dropped from 71,000 in 1950 to barely 22,000 last year. Their productivity is far less since machinery is less effective in hard coal and the UMW negotiators have accepted that as grounds for the growing pay differential.

NOW THERE ARE 12: The glittering new wage scale will mean nothing to many miners in Harlan County and many other mining fields; they have no wages to be raised because they have no jobs. The N.Y. **Times'** Homer Bigart early this month toured the Kentucky and West Virginia coal fields. He found conditions, to use a mountain phrase, "black as a wolf's mouth."



Herblock in Washington Post
"And then after the budget is balanced he says maybe there'll be a tax cut."

The mines have been shutting down little by little for years, and with increasing frequency since last April. There were 60 mines working in the county in the 1920's. Now there are 12. Those mines still working have been mechanized so that where in 1948 there were 12,500 miners at work, now there are only 5,087. There are 13,506 persons in the county officially classified as "destitute." The State Board of Welfare lists 9,000 families—38,000 persons—on relief. Gov. A. B. (Happy) Chandler has declared an emergency and ordered the distribution of Federal supplies of surplus foods. The hungry and the under-clothed line up at the churches for relief.

WALKING THE TRACKS: Most people in Kenvir, eight miles east of Harlan, on Yoacum Creek, live on Federal handouts of rice, flour, corn meal and powdered milk. Their unemployment benefits are exhausted. For a while the men walked along the tracks and picked up the coal that had fallen from the cars when the mines were working. They sold it for $5 to $6 a ton but all that is gone now.

Some 2,000 of them found work at very low wages in the non-union mines of the county; but the new protective wage clause in the contract just signed is expected to put those mines out of business. Ironically, the clause which guarantees union security and protects the wages of most miners will cut these men off completely. Those who could leave the valley have done so. Most haven't the money to move.

A DEEP SICKNESS: Ben Pearse in the Jan. 17 **Saturday Evening Post** says that the old company town is gone and the 1959 miner lives better than ever before; but that is not true of the miners Bigart found in Harlan living in the ramshackle houses so deep in the hollows "you have to lay down to see the sun rise."

Harlan is not an exception in the coal fields. It is a symptom of a deep, pervading sickness afflicting coal and many other industries. It is characteristic of the illness that the stricken industry wears a feverish glow sometimes mistaken for health. Pearse estimates that 200,000 miners now produce what 400,000 did 10 years ago. A miner produced three tons a day in 1900, six and half tons in 1950. Today he produces ten tons. Some mechanized mines turn out an average of 25 tons a day per man and the record is close to 100 tons.

NO STRIKE IN 9 YEARS: There are 100,000 UMW members listed as unemployed. Many more have left the mines. The trend has been accelerated since John L. Lewis abruptly came to terms with mine operators in a peace pact called the National Bituminous Wage Agreement of 1950. In the nine years since then there has not been a single strike in the mine fields, once labor's stormiest battleground. Union headqquarters have disciplined and fined locals for occasional wildcat strikes.

The long guaranteed peace has enabled the mine operators to install gigantic machinery, so expensive it can pay off only when in constant use, free of all threats of strikes or other interruptions. Guaranteeing deliveries 15 and 20 years ahead, coal companies entered into long-term contracts with generating plants at cheap rates.

The new business guaranteed them a return on their investment in machinery. Consolidation Coal Co. now moves 20,000 tons a year through the nation's first coal pipe line from Cadiz, Ohio, to Cleveland, 108 miles away, for use by the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co.

LONG-TERM DEALS: In many mines continuous mining machines dig out the coal without blasting or cutting, carry it to the surface on belts and automatically dump it into freight cars or barges. Enormous shovels scoop coal automatically and giant augers, some of them six feet in diameter, bore into the coal and toss it up for loading.

The long-term contracts, the machinery and labor peace have enabled the coal industry to cut costs, underselling oil, venturing to challenge atomic power for years to come on the solid grounds of cheapness and availability.

Since 1953 the banks have been calling coal a good investment, predicting a sound future in mining stocks once known as shares in a "sick industry." L. Newton Thomas, retiring president of the National Coal Assn., said recently: "The only thing the coal industry is sick of is being called sick."

TIED TO CAPITAL: When John L. Lewis signed the 1950 pact he opened the way to the industry's mechanization and its economic recovery. He knew then that mechanization would lead to unemployment. He said: "It is better to have half a million men working at good wages and high standards of living than it is to have a million working in poverty and degradation."

In no contract signed since then has he raised the notion of cutting the work day and spreading the work. He has tied the union's future to the industry's prosperity. He has scorned the labor limelight of Walter Reuther and has pursued his objectives with the single-mindedness of a coal company executive.

Under his direction the UMW has fought the atoms-for-peace proposal because it would hurt coal. He opposed the St. Lawrence Seaway because it would bring oil into the country more cheaply.

THE BIGGEST BANK: When, a few years ago, high shipping costs jeopardized coal exports, the Union joined a group of railroads and coal companies as partners in a shipping enterprise. Using some $18,000,000 of union funds, one-third of the new company's capital, the group bought up old Liberty ships to carry coal abroad.

The venture fizzled but it could not discourage a union already hip deep in the gambles of big business. Among the Mine Workers' other properties is the largest bank in Washington, D.C., for example. Last May at the Coal Convention of the American Mining Congress, Lewis was proudly introduced by Secy. of the Treasury George Humphrey who called him his "friend." Lewis replied by calling Humphrey "one of the greatest of our contemporary Americans." Lewis then went on to plead with the mine owners to join him in a national organization so that the industry could speak "with one voice."

THE OLD-FASHIONED WAY: In the era of cooperation, prosperity, high wages and automation, there are undoubtedly voices to be heard in Harlan County protesting, in an old-fashioned way, that some miners' families still starve and that, perhaps, what is good for the mine operators is not always good for the miners. There was a time when miners, including John L. Lewis, built a union on that notion.

DEFENSE HAMSTRUNG BY U.S. TACTICS

Powell-Schuman trial set to open in San Francisco Jan. 26

Special to the Guardian

SAN FRANCISCO

AS THE TRIAL DATE, Jan. 26, nears in the 33-month-old Powell-Schuman "sedition" case, the defendants are faced with the prospect of coming into court without witnesses and without being able to obtain government records because of "national security" needs.

Charged with wilfully publishing false statements regarding the Korean fighting, John and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman are unable to bring into court approximately 1,000 defense witnesses from abroad while, at the same time, the government refuses to open official documents which the defense claims are vital to its case.

Federal Judge Louis E. Goodman has promised that if the relevance of the documents is demonstrated at the trial he will order them to be produced.

The defense has tried to subpena material dealing with the Korean peace talks, including records of the Central Intelligence Agency, the Chemical Warfare Department, and U.S. government documents related to American intervention in the Chinese civil war. Recent court maneuvers by the prosecution, however, have indicated Washington's unwillingness to air publicly some of the Korean and Chinese records.

The Powells and Schuman are charged with having made false statements in the American-owned and edited **China Monthly Review** on subjects covered by the subpenaed documents.

PROSECUTION HEDGES: To block the opening of these records, the government on Jan. 7 told the court in San Francisco that it was dropping one count in its original 13-count indictment—a count accusing the defendants of having wilfully lied when they reported U.S. attempts to stall the Korean peace talks and the attempted bombing of the site of the talks.

At the same time, the government admitted that the U.S. Army had the ability to wage offensive germ warfare in Korea but denied that any bacteriological weapons had left American soil. The defense is attempting to secure records of shipment of such material to Japan. The government also admitted that chemical weapons had been shipped to the Far East for "troop training exercises."

Last September another count in the indictment had been dropped. That one charged that the defendants had wilfully made false reports regarding Gen. Omar Bradley's testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee during the Korean fighting.

In its effort to "narrow the issues" by dropping the two counts, the government seeks to avoid offering evidence dealing with alleged preparations for germ warfare and U.S. aggression in Korea and Asia. Thus the prosecution would be free to deal only with charges in which the defendants are dependent upon evidence they are not being allowed to produce from China and North Korea.

BENSON PLAN DENOUNCED

New program offered to end farm depression

By Barrow Lyons
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

A PROGRAM FOR SOLVING the problems of farm depression is presented by the Conference on Economic Progress (CEP) in a new pamphlet entitled **Toward a New Farm Program.** It was designed as part of a general program for utilizing the full capacity of the productive plant and skilled manpower of the nation under the policy adopted by Congress when it passed the Employment Act of 1946.

It proposes that the Act be amended to require that the President send annually to Congress a short-range, and especially a long-range, Full Prosperity Budget for Agriculture.

Such a budget would provide a variety of measures to raise the net income of farm operators by almost $5,000,000,000 by 1960, measured in terms of constant 1957 dollars, and by almost $11,500,000,000 by 1964. This would be accomplished as part of the general goal for increasing national production by $70,000,000,000 by 1960 and by more than $180,000,000,000 by 1964.

The plan was prepared by Leon H. Keyserling, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers to the President, assisted by his wife, Mary Dublin Keyserling, and Philip M. Ritz.

PLANT SUFFICIENT: This could be accomplished, the study holds, without increasing the plant or manpower of American agriculture, except in a few areas such as vegetables and fruits. Nor would accomplishment be based upon compulsion.

"Farmers who have tried to cooperate in hit-or-miss adjustments, accompanied by income deflation," the report declares, "will certainly cooperate voluntarily in rational production adjustments, induced by fair income treatment."

The report is devastating in describing the failure of the Benson plan designed to drive marginal farmers off the land, and curtail production by depressing prices. "Instead of using fair farm income treatment as an inducement to farm production adjustments," the CEP analysis asserts, "an effort has been made to bludgeon the farmer into these adjustments through the cruel and contrived deflation of farm prices and incomes."

Facts and figures are presented to prove that the farm slump has had a depressing effect upon the whole economy. It suggests that immoral treatment of the farmers is one reason that actual national production between 1953 and 1958 fell $150,000,000,000 below full production. Man-years of employment opportunity have been about 10,000,000 below what should have been realized in this period, the CEP calculates.

"During this period, the deficiency in farm operators' net income has been about 23% of the total income deficiency of all American consumers," it is pointed out, although the farm population averaged only about 12½% of the total population.

FAMILY FARM HIT MOST: One of the reasons for this has been the impact of national policies upon the small and middle-size farms. National farm policies should be used to reverse the trend toward excessive concentration of holdings. The CEP proposal says:

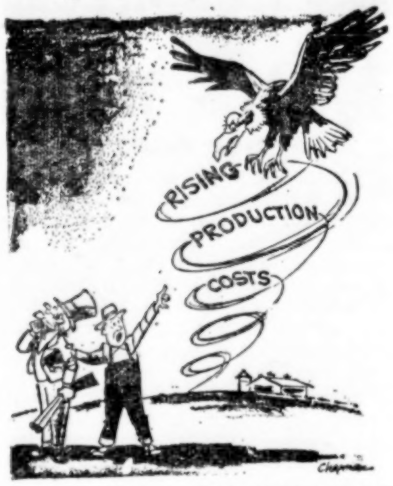
"This can be helped by limiting the size of farms receiving assistance, or the amount of asssistance to any one farm —or by both. There can be no defense of public payments of $100,000 or more to individual farmers. There should be a ceiling on payments, designed to extend justice to farmers and not to enrich anyone.

"Farm policies should protect and augment the family type farm. In 1958, it is estimated that the family type farms numbered 41% of all farms, and accounted for about 58% of all sales of farm products. The 1964 goal should point toward family type farms accounting for close to two-thirds of all farms, and an even larger percentage of total sales."

SETS NEW GOALS: Farm income from all sources should be lifted by more than $6,000,000,000 by 1960 and by more than $14,000,000,000 by 1964, it is held. Farm credit should be amplified, and at lower costs. In some cases where price support programs remain desirable, price levels should be related to income goals, rather than conventional parity, it is suggested. Otherwise the parity price concept is misleading, because a few years ago when the farmer received 100% of price parity, he was getting only about 50% of "income parity," a concept relating farm income to the income of industrial workers.

"In other cases," the report continues, "production payments or other forms of direct income supplementation should be used, sometimes in combination with price supports, and sometimes while letting prices seek their own level. There are cases where this would reduce the public costs of fair farm income protection, and also result in lower prices to consumers. Further, the problem of expanding our farm exports calls for variety in the methods used to improve farm income."

NO ORGANIZATION PLAN: The report does not, however, envisage the kind of organization required to achieve these goals. It says nothing, for instance, about how farm cooperatives might organize and finance a national effort to put a sane farm program into effect.



California Farm Reporter
"HEY, SAM!"

It does enlarge upon the need for cooperation between industrial workers and farmers in making the Employment Act operative, holding, as have previous CEP reports, that the Administration has been delinquent in failing to recognize or administer the law.

It also affirms that there is a deep moral problem involved — that the farmer has not received fair treatment from the rest of society. While his income has declined the profits of finance and business have risen greatly. It is time that our enormously productive economy gave the farmer a fair deal, the report says in a dozen different ways.

The story is told graphically with many charts and illustrations.

The pamphlet Toward a New Farm Program *may be obtained from the Conference on Economic Progress, 1001 Connecticut Av., N.W., Washington 6, D.C., for 50c.*

Pressure on Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

down to a leisurely canter when the Congressional sweepstakes really got under way.

One newcomer told the **Wall Street Journal:** "Sure there are second thoughts. In the flush of victory everyone promised to carry out every promise he made. It's natural that, as we get ready to act, we realize we have to scale down some of these proposals."

DO SOMETHING: Another, a Midwestern liberal, was not even sure what it was that had to be scaled down. He allowed: "I'm not sure what the mandate of the election really was—except that the public wants us to do something, not just stand still"

This did not mean there would be no action on important social and civil rights legislation in the Congress. Johnson is constrained to make a record upon which to base his party's claim for support and his own Presidential ambitions in the 1960 elections. But because of the conservative South's continuing weight in Democratic councils, the measures enacted are likely to be less than half-measures when compared with the nation's need.

Housing legislation provides a prime example. In the Senate, Pennsylvania Democrat Joseph S. Clark introduced a bill providing for a $6,000,000,000, 10-year urban renewal program. Under it, a meager 200,000 new units would be made available to a rapidly-expanding population. Sen. John Kennedy (D-Mass.), eager to assume a liberal posture with a view to 1960, quickly co-sponsored the measure.

DIM PROSPECT: The Democratic leadership promptly ignored the Clark-Kennedy proposal and threw its weight in both houses behind bills introduced by two Alabamans, Sen. John J. Sparkman and Rep. Albert Rains. The Sparkman measure would build, not 200,000, but 58,000 new units. Instead of a total of $6,000,000,000, Rains would spend $500,000,000 annually for three years.

LYNDON JOHNSON (r.) GREETS MINORITY LEADER DIRKSEN
The conservative Texas Democrat runs the show in the Senate

The Banking Committee of the Senate and the housing subcommittee of the House Banking Committee have both scheduled early hearings on the Sparkman and Rains measures. The prospect is for action in both houses in March, placing a housing act before the President as one of the first major accomplishments of the Congress.

Because the Administration is asking for an emergency housing bill even more modest in outlays than the Sparkman-Rains measure and containing no provision for public housing, there is every possibility that President Eisenhower will veto Congress' enactment. Johnson is confident of his ability to muster the votes to override a veto. He will thus be placed in the role of champion of the nation's social welfare against the Administration's fiscal conservativism. Meanwhile, Sen. Clark's bill will long since have been lost in the shuffle and the voters will have a housing bill that falls ridiculously short of their needs.

DEFER ACTION: In addition to cutting the liberals' proposals down to size, another favorite Johnson tactic is to defer action on the more vital and controversial measures affecting domestic welfare until the latter days of the session.

Thus, a bill for airport construction and modernization, and the customary hassle over defense spending and space exploration, will have high priority on the Congressional agenda.

But a new civil rights law, extension of social security, Taft-Hartley revision, Federal aid to school construction and to depressed areas—these measures are likely to wait until the Democratic leaders are ready to have them considered on terms which they prescribe.

Even the strongest advocates of civil rights admitted that they would have great difficulties in passing a bill in this Congress. Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) called Johnson's filibuster "compromise" a "sham," and announced he would introduce a comprehensive measure to test its effectiveness. But even as he spoke he admitted that "the future for civil rights legislation is cloudy."

WHAT IT CALLS FOR: The Javits measure would help open Southern schools shut down to avoid integration, cut off Federal funds to communities suppressing constitutional rights, extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission by 14 months, and empower the Attorney General to seek injunctions in civil rights cases.

As against these proposals, which are supported by such "Eisenhower Republicans" as Sens. Kenneth Keating of New York, Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania and Clifford P. Case of New Jersey, the President himself is reported inclined merely to go through the motions on civil rights. His proposals to Congress are likely to take the form of another Federal study of integration trouble spots and creation of a nationwide advisory panel. As for Johnson and Rayburn, they would obviously prefer to forget about the whole thing.

MORE PRESSURE NEEDED: Whether they can or not will depend largely on the voters. If they resume the old American habit of treating their elected representatives to letters, telegrams and visits of individuals and delegations; if they make it plain that their November mandate was really for civil rights, social welfare and for peace, it should be possible to jolt the Johnson-Rayburn leadership out of their complacency.

But these men are firmly entrenched on a road which stretches from the middle to the far right on the political horizon, and hardly ever deviates to the left. To get them off will take a lot more pressure than they've been accustomed to getting.

'ROBERT RICH' MYSTERY SOLVED

Film Academy drops by-law barring Oscar to blacklisted

By Robert E. Light

THE HOLLYWOOD BLACKLIST against film people who have defied witch-hunting committees has been dealt a blow which may cause its eventual demise. On Jan. 13 the board of governors of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences voted—with only one dissent—to repeal an amendment barring its Oscar rewards to anyone who had admitted Communist Party membership and refused publicly to renounce the party, or who had refused to answer Congressional committee questions.

In explaining its move, the board said that "experience has proven the by-law to be unworkable and impractical." In light of its history, this was an enormous understatement which covered up several embarrassing situations.

CASE OF ROBERT RICH: The amendment was passed at an Academy meeting in February, 1957, or the eve of the Oscar nominations, to prevent screen-writer Michael Wilson from receiving an award for **Friendly Persuasion.** He had invoked the Fifth Amendment before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1951. With Wilson out of the way, the Academy then gave the Oscar to Robert Rich for the script of **The Brave One.**

When it came time to hand Rich his Oscar, no one came forward. It turned out that "Robert Rich" was a fictitious name. Rumor had it that he was a blacklisted writer.

In 1958 the writing award went to Pierre Boulle for the screen adaptation of his novel, **The Bridge on the River Kwai.** Few doubted the merit of the award, but many wondered how a Frenchman could have written such sparkling English dialogue. Some thought they recognized the hand of Michael Wilson.

MR. DOUGLAS-YOUNG: As the Academy governors met this year they faced a new dilemma. It seemed certain that one of the Oscar nominations would go to Nathan E. Douglas and Harold Jacob Smith for writing **The Defiant Ones.** They had already received the award for the best film script given by the New York film critics.

On Jan. 1 it was revealed that Nathan E. Douglas was a pen name for Nedrick Young, who as an actor had been blacklisted after invoking the Fifth Amendment before a Congressional committee in 1953. Under the existing by-law, Douglas-Young would have been ineligible for an Oscar. But what about Smith, who had never been before a committee? There was no provision for half an Oscar. The governors took the direct way out: they repealed the amendment.

One Academy board member said: "The climate has changed a little. People realize today how absurd [the blacklist] is." Others said they had resented the list all along because it was pressured into being by outside elements — politicians and "patriotic" groups.

LET'S FACE IT: Frank King, co-producer of **The Brave One**, saw a principle at issue. He said: "I don't believe in blacklists. I believe that if a man commits some crime, then the government ought to punish him for it, but I don't think he should be blacklisted."

Actor Ward Bond, president of the Motion Picture Alliance and an ardent advocate of blacklists, said: "They're all working now, all these Fifth Amendment Communists. There's no point at issue. We've just lost the fight."

Television news commentator Lew Irwin also saw the blacklist as all but dead, but he found economic reasons. He said that when the blacklist was first begun the industry was controlled by large studios which were "mortally afraid" of outside pressures. Today, because of the competition from television, the industry has changed. It makes fewer movies, higher in quality and with "controversial" themes, many of them produced by small independent companies.

Because of the big gamble and their relatively limited resources, he said, the independents must search for the best talent. The blacklisted writers are among the most talented and, because of their situation, have been willing to work for less or gamble with a small producer.

MICHAEL WILSON
The ban couldn't stick

TRUMBO IS THE NAME: On Jan. 16 a mystery was solved: Dalton Trumbo resurfaced from the Hollywood underground to announce that he was "Robert Rich." He did not demand his Oscar because, he said, "I can't imagine myself asking them for anything." But "if they ask for evidence of authorship, I will furnish it to them. And if they offer me the award, in view of the circumstances, I think I should accept."

Trumbo, who was jailed in 1950 as one of the Hollywood Ten for invoking the First Amendment before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, said he was making the announcement with the consent of King Brothers, producers of **The Brave One.** He said: "I really have no feeling about burying Robert Rich. Robert Rich was getting old. I hope it will do some good for the industry."

But even with Rich in his grave, there were no indications from the studios that they were ready to re-hire blacklisted actors or writers under their real names. It was felt, however, that the Academy's action and Trumbo's announcement were two sturdy spikes in the blacklist's coffin.

HELD IN ISLAND PRISON

More protests urged to save Greek hero from death penalty

UNDER PRESSURE from Greek and world public opinion, the authorities in Athens were finally forced to permit the wife and lawyers of Manolis Glezos to visit him after 20 days of isolation. Glezos, a hero of the Greek resistance in World War II and editor of the Athens daily **AGVI,** is facing a possible death sentence on a charge of "espionage." He was arrested Dec. 16.

The visit took place on Dec. 30. The next day Glezos was removed from Athens to the Itzedin (Kalamiou) Prison on the island of Crete. The transfer made it impossible for Glezos to have regular contact with the defense counsel in Athens, 200 miles away by sea.

Glezos told his wife and lawyers that the charge against him is that he met with K. Koliyannis, a leader of the outlawed Greek Communist Party (KKE), last August.

WHY DID THEY WAIT? Glezos denied the charge. He said that even if the meeting had taken place, which had not, it would not have been a violation of Law 375 since the KKE is a Greek political party not engaged in espionage. He noted that many journalists, Greek and foreign, had sought out and published interviews with KKE leaders. He said he would have done the same had he known Koliyannis was in Greece. He asked:

"If the police thought a meeting with him was unlawful, why did they not arrest us when, as they allege, they followed Koliyannis up to the house of my sister?"

The Glezos defense says that letters from the U.S. are especially effective in Athens, and urges American friends of Greek freedom to write letters protesting Glezos' arrest and treatment to Prime Minister Karamanlis, Athens, Greece.

SOLID PRESSURE ON 'RIGHT TO WORK'

Labor unites in Indiana to repeal state 'wreck' law

ON MARCH 2, 1957, 10,000 union members stormed through the Indiana capitol building in Indianapolis, but it was typical of labor's fight in that year that the massive, angry rally came one day too late. Twenty-four hours earlier the state legislature had passed the "right to work" act by a vote of 27-23, undermining union security in the state.

Outside the State House crowds tied up traffic. Union brass bands blared. Unionists tolled the state's Liberty Bell. A delegation was told by then Gov. Harold W. Handley, a Republican, that there would be no veto. The Governor said he did not like the measure but the legislature would have to take the responsibility. The crowds battered on the Governor's door, broke into his office and when they did not find him there, yelled: "Let's go out to his house."

Their leaders calmed them. Hobart Autterson, secy.-treas. of the State Fedn. of Labor, told them: "We're not whipped. We may be down but we're sure as the devil not out."

WHY LABOR LOST: Labor then was sharply divided on strategy, confident in advance that the bill would not pass or that if it did Handley would veto it. The unions fought among themselves as much as or more than they did with the politicians. Handley, seeking support for a tax boost, maintained what he called "neutrality" on the "right-to-work" law. He did not veto.

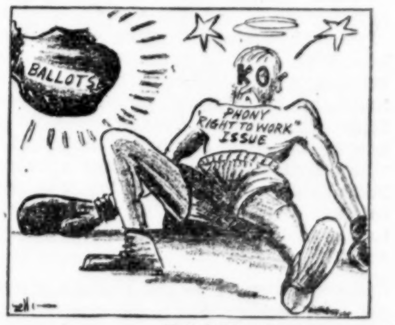
That was how the "wreck" law, as labor calls it, was enacted in Indiana almost two years ago. It was the first victory of "right-to-work" forces in a major industrial state. Earlier victories had been won by anti-labor elements in largely agricultural areas, but 60% of the Hoosiers work in metal industries and 600,000 of them are in unions.

In 1958 the "right-to-work" forces were resoundingly defeated in the big industrial states of Ohio and California. In Indiana the situation had changed, too. There was a new General Assembly: a House in which 58 of the 100 members are freshmen and where the Democrats are in control 79-21; a Senate where nine of the 50 are freshmen and where the Republicans have a slim lead of 27-23.

UNITED FOR REPEAL: On Jan. 8, when the new General Assembly convened, repeal of the "wreck" law was the first item on the agenda for a labor lobby that seemed at last to be coordinating. The Indiana AFL-CIO, the State Building and Construction Trades Council and the Workers Protective Committee, organized to fight the "wreck" law, opened up headquarters in hotels in downtown Indianapolis. They saw in the election results, which defeated Handley's bid for a seat in the U.S. Senate, a mandate for repeal. Handley publicly opposed repeal. Labor strategists calculated that a repeal bill had enough votes to pass the House easily and get by in the Senate with six votes to spare.

In addition to repealing the "wreck" law, labor was united on a program to repeal the law banning supplementary unemployment benefits, enact a state minimum wage, overhaul the Workmen's Compensation Act to pay 70% of actual wages to injured workers plus allowance for dependents, liberalize unemployment benefits and establish a Fair Employment Practices Commission.

OHIO SLUSH FUND: "Right-to-work" forces were counting their colossal losses in Ohio, too, where their proposal to rule out union security was defeated at the polls by a margin of nearly 1,000,000. Financial reports filed with Ohio Secy. of State Ted W. Brown said the "Right-to-Work" Committee had collected only $72,923 but spent $762,543.


BALLOTS
KO
PHONY "RIGHT TO WORK" ISSUE

United Mine Workers Journal
THE STUMBLEBUM

Tracking the funds down, Brown found it had borrowed $392,500 from the Huntington Natl. Bank in Columbus. For collateral it had put up $258,000 worth of bonds from the Ohio Chamber of Commerce and $50,000 in bonds from the Ohio Mfgrs. Assn. In addition the Chamber of Commerce had lent the RTW Committee $261,000.

That meant that the Ohio C of C had put up $619,500, virtually its entire reserves. The Internal Revenue Dept. then became interested because C of C dues are listed by businessmen as gifts. They are tax-exempt only as long as it can be shown that no large proportion of the money is used for political purposes.

Herschel Atkinson, exec. vice-president of the C of C, said the whole amount was being written off as a bad debt. He summed up the defeat: "We decided to take the risk and shot the works."

3 Gateway Singer concerts In L.A. Jan. 31 and Feb. 1

THREE CONCERT dates have been set for the Gateway Singers in Los Angeles the weekend of Jan. 31-Feb. 1. The popular interracial quartet, which recently sang at the Governor's Ball in Sacramento, will appear at the Wilshire Ebell Auditorium Sat., Jan. 31, at 8:30 p.m. Sunday performances will be given at the Institute of Aeronautical Sciences at 1:30 for children, at 3:30 for teenagers and students.

Ticket information may be obtained by calling Tiba Willner, WEbster 1-9478.

‘Think—and then take what action seems right’

When members of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War demonstrated at the Air Ministry base in Swaffham, Norfolk, England, last month, they found that their government had its own direct action program. They were arrested and given seven days by the court to sign a pledge renouncing their campaign. When they refused 39 were sentenced to 14 days in jail, including Rev. Michael Scott, famed fighter for South Africa freedom.

In jail two of the group went on a hunger strike until guards forcibly fed them. Two others, just prior to being imprisoned, managed to join another picket line in London at the Great Western Hotel where candidates were being interviewed for jobs at the Aldermaston Atomic Establishment.

Why the demonstrators were willing to accept jail terms for their cause was explained by Rev. Scott in the London Observer, *Jan. 11. Excerpts are reprinted below.*

THE ACTION AT THE NORFOLK missile bases was both real and symbolic. Forty or more people, mostly young men and women, said in effect what has been said by English men and women many times in past history. "We would rather forego our liberty by a deliberate choice than be party to a course which we believe to be fundamentally wrong."

They were not trying to force the government to obey their will. They were only trying to get the government and their fellow-citizens to recognize that the course being followed is one that will lead to people going voluntarily to jail. They hope to make people think.

The missiles that could be fired from the bases in Norfolk are designed to destroy three million human beings with one shot, and no one knows what secondary effects they would have on generations yet unborn.

Although some of us are pacifists and recognize the real difficulties facing governments in dealing with heavily armed countries who respect little except physical strength, we believe a continuing arms race to be folly. We do not believe that war should be used as an instrument of policy.

THE YOUNG MEN and women who were willing to sit on muddy roads and go to jail may be called "angry" by people wishing to discredit them, but they showed no anger at Swaffham. Nor did the police, who had expected a "rough house" and quickly saw that this was not a rag by high-spirited young gentlemen, but something else.

The Norfolk police showed good humor and did not find it hard work lugging the demonstrators off, as some indignant newspaper readers seem to have supposed. But Norfolk people are not unthinking. Many of them could see that these people were not just seeking martyrdom or notoriety. There was an underlying realization that this symbolic conflict was about something serious and disturbing. The slabs of new concrete, high wire fences and "Beware Police Dogs" notices around the sites tell you that something serious is going on in England that concerns us all.

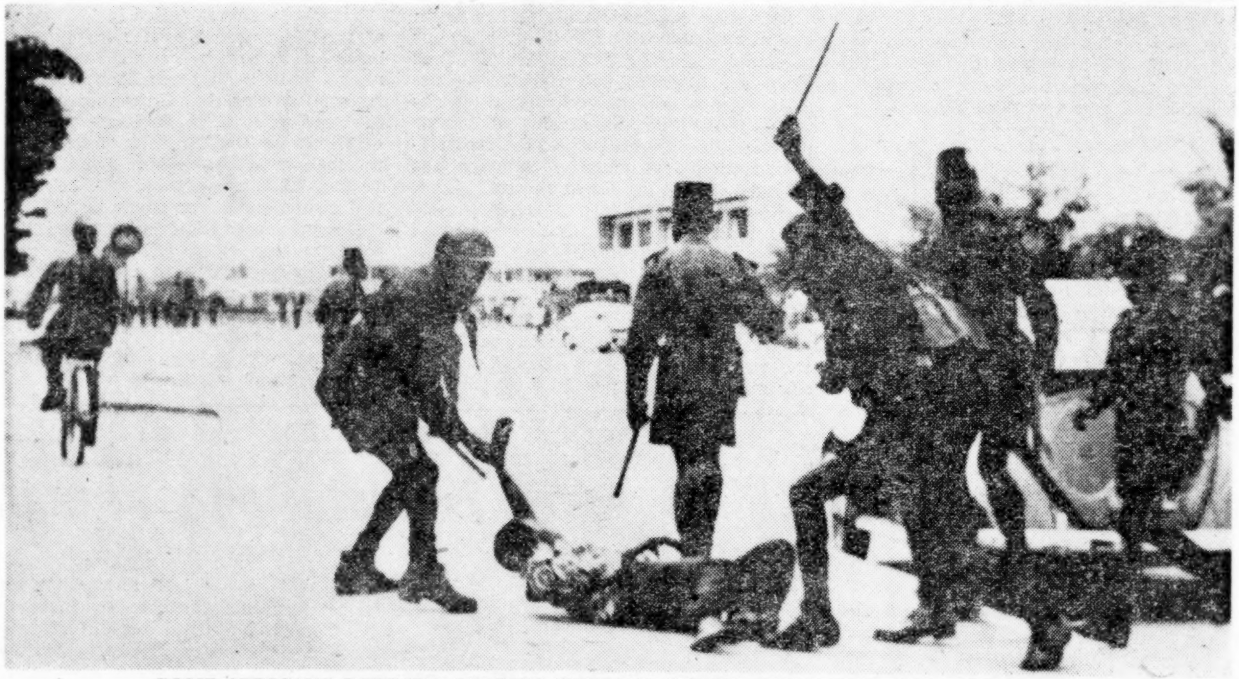
Can we forget that it was possible for one of the greatest crimes in history to be carried out by officials of the most technologically advanced state in Europe against millions of old men, women and children in the death-factories set up by the Third Reich? This was all prepared and justified in terms of defending the community. These young people at Swaffham were protesting at a chain of events which could have as horrible a conclusion.

THEY WERE NOT all eccentrics, even if some of them were vegetarians and one or two had long hair and beards. The rest were tradesmen, housewives, mechanics, medical students, sailors, bricklayers, a children's nurse. Maybe they were "nobodies trying to be somebodies," as the Archbishop of Canterbury put it (in a good-humored context). But what is wrong with that? They were trying to find a way of opposing a folly or an evil by methods that do not violate those very values of gentleness and respect for others which they are seeking to defend. How can we expect the people of Africa to seek their independence non-violently unless we in the West oppose what we regard as the follies of our government by similar means?

Where will it all lead? No one knows. Our ignorance is shared with members of the Institute of Strategic Studies and everyone else. There are many approaches needed towards the attainment of peace. They may not be contradictory. All anyone can do is to think and then take what action seems right to him or her.

BELGIUM'S BILLIONS

Why the myth of the Congo exploded Jan. 4



SOME AFRICANS REFUSED TO LIVE HAPPILY UNDER BELGIUM'S GRACIOUS KING
So scores of them died at the hands of Congo troops and hundreds of others were jailed.

THE MYTH of Africans in the Belgian Congo living happily under Belgium's benevolent and paternalistic rule was shattered on Jan. 4. On that day armed police, attempting to break up a political meeting in Leopoldville attended by 4,000 Congolese, set off a violent clash which was followed by widespread rioting.

Curfew was enforced in the Congo's capital city 24 hours later by armored cars and jeep-loads of soldiers with submachine guns. By that time at least 71 (The Johannesburg **Evening Star** said at least 500) Africans had been killed, 250 Europeans and Africans had been injured and 300 Africans, including Joseph Kasavubu, nominal Congolese mayor of one of the eight communes in Leopoldville's African section, had been arrested. Four days later the situation was still so tense that Brussels flew paratroopers to the Congo to maintain "law and order."

KING LEOPOLD: In the last quarter of the 19th century, Henry Morton Stanley (of "Dr. Livingston, I presume" fame) first sized up the potential wealth of the Congo. Returning from Africa in 1884 he told the Manchester Chamber of Commerce:

"There are forty million people beyond the gateway of the Congo, and the cotton spinners of Manchester are waiting to clothe them. Birmingham foundries are glowing with the red metal that will presently be made into iron work for them and the trinkets that will adorn those dusky bosoms, and the ministers of Christ are zealous to bring them, the poor benighted heathen, into the Christian fold."

Stanley failed to interest the British at the time. He sold the idea to Belgium's King Leopold, on whose behalf he tricked the Congo's African chiefs into signing away their land. During the next 23 years, Leopold and those to whom he granted concessions piled up several fortunes by forcing the Africans to collect rubber from the vines that grew wild in abundance in the Congo forests and punishing them brutally when they failed to deliver their quota. After international criticism of his brutalities, Leopold sold the Congo to the Belgian government.

CURTAIN OF SILENCE: In 50 years of direct rule over a territory 80 times the size of Belgium and three times the size of Texas, Belgian industrialists first drained out of the Congo billions in rubber and copra and later more billions in uranium, copper and tin.

The Belgian government rang down a curtain of silence around the 13,000,000 Africans. It tried to avert political discontent by giving enough "education" to African men to create a vast pool of unskilled labor and letting the Catholic church train women to become good, Christian mothers by learning to cook, sew and clean house.

The government denied the Africans all political rights until a year ago when 10% of the Africans in the big cities were permitted to elect local mayors' councils without power. At the same time it tried to build up a small group of African "evolues" ((evolving into an elite group identifying its interests with Belgium's) as a future screen behind which the Congo's exploitation could be continued. It also spent large sums for security measures against healthy political influences seeping among the Africans through the curtain of silence.

ABAKO: These measures were, however, futile because desire for national independence sprang from colonial conditions and needed no fomenting from outside. Several groups, starting as cultural socities, developed into political organizations. The strongest of these was ABAKO (Assn. of the Lower Congo); others gradually formed a loose mildly reformist federation called the Congolese National Movement.

In 1956, ABAKO made its political position clear in its reply to a manifesto issued by a group of "evolues." The manifesto called for mild political reforms, denied the necessity for African political parties and placed its reliance on the Belgians' sense of justice for the Africans' betterment. The London **Times** said: "Belgian Catholics had a hand in drafting the manifesto."

ABAKO refused to place its faith in foreign investors, condemned Belgian rule "which has earned for the Congo the title of empire of silence." It demanded freedom for the Congo conceding the possibility of a free Congo joining a Belgian Commonwealth. Like other African national liberation movements, it also stressed the importance of an "African personality" and warned against total assimilation with Western civilization.

LINK WITH ACCRA: The independence of Ghana, Morocco and Tunisia, and the Algerians' struggle for freedom have had strong repercussions in the Congo. ABAKO has been invigorated by them. It sent a representative to the recent African People's Conference at Accra.

Even as the conference's permanent secretariat announced—as its first action of solidarity with colonial liberation movements—it would send a representative to inquire into the Leopoldville riots, whites in the Congo's capital talked darkly of setting up "committees of public safety" on the lines of those organized by the French in Algeria.

THERE'S NOTHING FOR THEM: The Jan. 4 meeting had been called by ABAKO to protest the increasing unemployment among Leopoldville's Africans. With copper prices down and the Congo feeling the effects of the recession in the West, more than a third of the capital city's employable Africans were without work, and the government had no provisions of any kind for them.

ABAKO's strength may be seen in the fact that after its leader Kasavubu was arrested, the other seven African mayors threatened to resign; two of them were thereupon imprisoned. The Belgian government has belatedly come up with a typical imperialist solution: setting up a commission of inquiry, along with mild political reforms. It has ordered the dissolution of ABAKO.

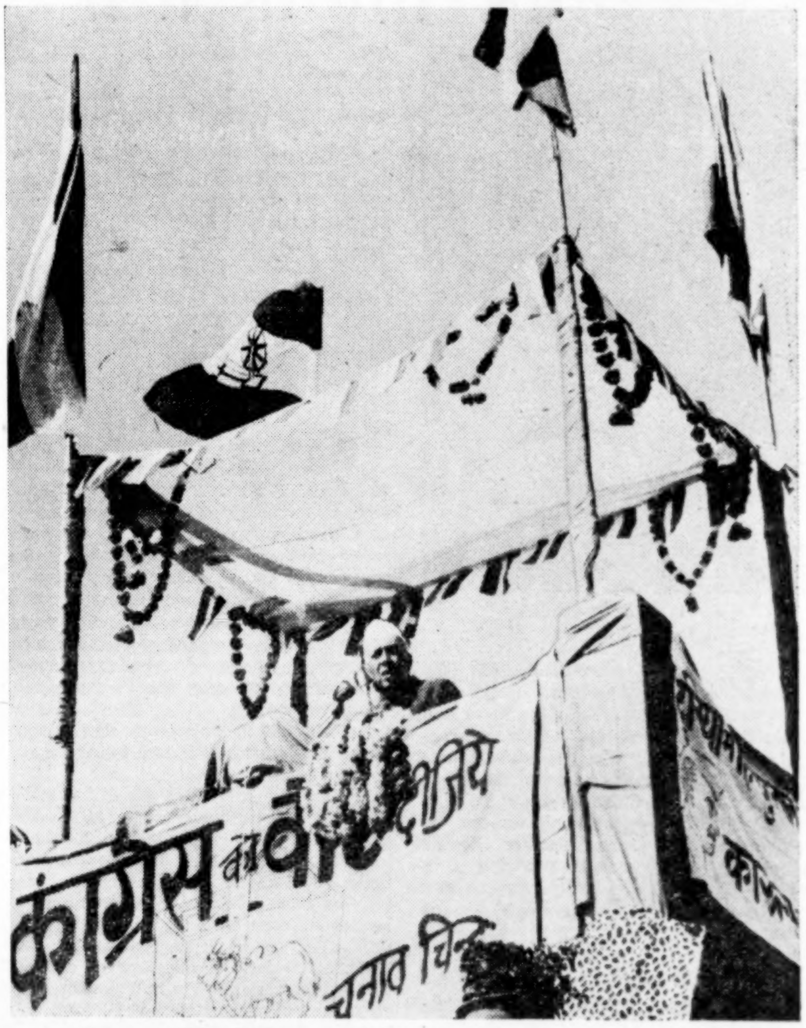
Such tactics have failed in the past for Britain, France and the Netherlands; in today's Africa, they are sure to fail in the Congo.

THE COMMUNISTS ARE THE SECOND LARGEST PARTY

The question before all India: After Nehru what?

By Cedric Belfrage

NEW DELHI



PRIME MINISTER NEHRU DURING THE 1957 ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Many in India feel he alone holds the ruling Congress Party together

AFTER NEHRU WHAT? In India the question is raised more than ever since the new round of military **coups** in Asia, and the consolidation in Pakistan of the rule of the pork-barrel and contempt of the people. Attention is drawn more sharply to the West's increasing pressure and "democratic" hypocrisy. Without Nehru the ruling Congress Party would be a factional shambles. Who can take his place? Is there a democrat in the house?

Finance Minister Morarji Desai, the "private sector's" dictatorial favorite, is too obviously the West's candidate to win mass acceptance. Washington is said to be hedging on the more popular Jayaprakash Narain, mystical "socialist" and would-be inheritor of Gandhi's mantle. Home Minister Pant has the dubious advantage of landlord backing.

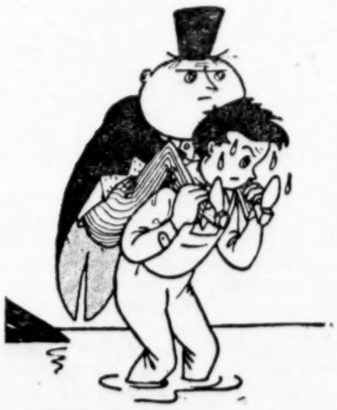
Popular respect for Krishna Menon, Defense Minister and Nehru's foreign policy spokesman, is heavily offset by his absence from India during the independence struggle. Many other Congress leaders were in India then but never in jail and the people have not forgotten. Congress no longer attracts the youth, and democratic fervor is as rare in its ranks as efficiency.

One exception is Bombay's vigorous, informal Chief Minister Y. B. Chavan, who talked to me of his "very educational" years in jail. The people like his handling of this State's acute problems, but in Bombay city, the heart of the Maharastrian separatist storm, a Left coalition elected a Communist mayor.

THE CP: The Praja Socialists (social democrats) are divided even on anti-communism, and seem, comments Delhi's weekly **Link**, "to have quietly given up all ambition of being considered political heirs-apparent of Congress . . . There was at one time some chance of a non-Communist Left opposition developing inside Parliament. No such talk is heard today." Thus the CP is the only organized party seriously challenging Congress. Many of its leaders, especially in Kerala, are former Congress cadres with honorable jail records in the indepedence struggle.

Founded belatedly in the Thirties, India's CP has survived all the mistakes in the book, starting with denunciation of Gandhi. It called "free India" a fake and backed the Telengana peasant rising, which ended in bloody disaster and outlawing of the party. It purged "reformists" ruthlessly. Yet the courage of many Communists and their selfless dedication to socialism won broad admiration.

In 1952 the CP emerged from underground and became India's top opposition party with 6,000,000 votes; in 1957, when it was beginning to re-admit purged "reformists," it doubled the '52 vote, and it is still growing.



TOO MUCH THEORY: Nehru, impressed by the CP's energy but not by its sense of history, once called it as "divorced" from Indian tradition—and hence from the people—as those who seek "Western" solutions to India's problems.

The truth in this is today recognized by many Communists. "We have been reading Marxism like Brahmins reading the Vedas," a Kerala leader said to me; "too much theory, not enough indigenous experience." On the other hand many feel that Nehru exaggerates the special complexities of Indian society: India, they insist, "cannot claim any exceptionalism from universal economic realities."

The CP program today, as Natl. Secy. Ajoy Ghosh outlined it to me here, is to "join hands with Nehru" in defending parliamentary democracy and the Five-Year Plans while mobilizing a mass struggle against reactionary Congress policies.

Miscarriage of the Plans and popular frustration are not the fault of parliamentary democracy as such, but of a capitalist-dominated party in power which will not push ahead land reform and basic nationalization. A broad progressive alliance is needed in which Congress "as an organization" cannot be included. The CP sees such a change as "a long job" but it may be possible soon in such States as Andhra and West Bengal.

KERALA IN SPOTLIGHT: The eyes of all India today are on Kerala, where the Communists hold power un-allied with any other party ("we don't like that," says Ghosh). There, Chief Minister Nambudiripad told me, the CP is 60,000 strong, "mostly peasants, mostly literate"; and their leaders (average age 45) get day-to-day education away from "Brahmin Marxism" into practical administrative skills and a more indigenous approach. "We have to take decisions with no guiding lines from theory, and evolve a scheme not satisfactory to us but far better than before."

Himself a Brahmin, like Nehru and many other democratic intellectuals, Nambudiripad is intensely aware of the Gandhi tradition, and of the obstacle of caste and religious prejudices to building popular unity—a problem hardly existing in China, as he saw on a visit in 1956.

Yet "the people have no animosity to our party on religious grounds—devout Hindus, Moslems and Christians are in our ranks." His government has outlasted any other in Kerala and he gives it "a fair chance" of re-election even against a united opposition. My impression is that if it loses, this will be due less to its "communism" than to its precise observance of the bourgeois limits within which it operates.

NO DICTATORSHIP: The press needles Nambudiripad on his relations with the CP center, which reproved him for his generous labor-relations deal to attract the Birla industrial empire into Kerala. "Our backward State must attract industry," he told me, "but we're a disciplined party, and when discussion showed we made certain mistakes, we accepted the reproof."

While Kerala is no working model of what the CP projects for India, the last party congress ruled out "proletarian dictatorship." A Kerala party stalwart said to me: "No kind of dictatorship will go in India—the people want democracy and are experimenting with us to see if ours is the real thing."

When a Revolutionary Socialist (extreme Left party) in Cochin mocked him for "taking the revolution with soda—we take it straight," he replied: "You people are going through the stage we were in ten years ago."

WEST BENGAL: Jyoti Basu, 43-year-old CP secretary and opposition leader in West Bengal, is another of the many Communists with awareness of past errors. Although his party climbed from 28 to 50 seats in the last election, the chief gain was in Calcutta and "we failed considerably in the villages due to lack of organization."

Now the Kishan Sabha, CP-led peasant organization, has swelled to 300,000 members on the basis of a more down-to-earth program. Said Basu: "We are learning from the Kerala experience—both sides of it. The opposition in Kerala seems to be opposing just for opposing's sake, and if you give that impression the people don't take you seriously."

The CP's new rural concentration drew nearly 10,000 peasants to a "mass symbolic fasting" in hungry Uttar Pradesh last August. Communists of peasant origin have also become heroes of the Maharastrians' "non-violent resistance" in Bombay.

NO CRYSTAL BALLS: Free-world propagandists are handicapped by the West's cold-war policies, and have no answer to the rapid economic progress of the U.S.S.R. and, above all, China. The press, energetically anti-Soviet, front-pages a speech in Tokyo by Indian economist Mahalanobis, who describes the socialist countries as "seriously interested in helping underdeveloped countries industrialize" while the West shows "no clear sign" of wanting to do so.

Most Indians don't get the cold-war approach, and agree with Nehru that the only real division is between poor and prosperous nations. They will support any leadership that gives them democracy plus the original planners' radical economic reforms; but they still have enough faith in Congress to want it strengthened, not smashed. Many progressives rest their hopes in Nehru "giving us enough time" for the whole of the Left to understand this, and in the possibilities of an effective alliance with the smaller "regional" bourgeoisie who "will support the public sector within limits."

Whatever happens politically, an army **coup** after the Pakistan model seems unlikely. India is too large and diverse, and the armed forces contain substantial democratic elements and have a tradition of not meddling in politics. In the hills above Bombay a long-haired "holy man" prophesied to me the break-up of India, and a period of "terrible bloodshed" under competing warlords. It could come true, "after Nehru"—but this is India, the land of fantastic contradictions in which nothing goes quite according to anybody's book.

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BOOKS C. WRIGHT MILLS' LATEST WORK

On the causes and cure of war

By Otto Nathan

THE AUTHOR of this volume* attempts more than the title indicates: he not only discusses the causes of war, but also suggests policies and actions for peace. The volume is rich in illuminating remarks about the unpeaceful nature of peace and the terrifying character of any future war, the war-propelling potential of military preparations, the lack of political consciousness in the United States, and various additional problems.

With many of these remarks one cannot but agree, while others seem generalizations and over-simplifications. It is difficult, however, to be in agreement with the author on the main problem of the volume: the causes and cure of war.

Since the author is primarily a sociologist, he seems to assume that the drive toward war should be examined largely in terms of a sociological analysis of that group in society — the "power elite" — which he considers to possess the ability of making final decisions in the various countries. He is chiefly concerned with the United States and the Soviet Union.

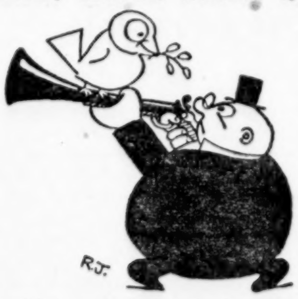
C. WRIGHT MILLS
A job for intellectuals only?

HIS ANALYSIS of the "power elite" in the U.S. is well-known from his earlier work on the problem, while very little is being said to describe, let alone to analyze, the corresponding group in the Soviet Union. The author seems convinced that the "power elite" determines policies and pushes war preparations in complete independence: not only without consultation with the people, but even unaffected by the attitudes of what he describes as the "powerless, apathetic, insensible publics and masses."

An intelligent policy against the tragic danger of war cannot be formulated without an understanding of the real factors responsible for it. The extraordinary threat cannot be averted unless men employ extraordinary measures. It is in those areas where I find the chief weaknesses of Prof. Mills' book.

Why do the "power elites" act as they do? Prof. Mills attempts to answer this question chiefly for the U.S. Besides a number of sociological considerations, he lists as causes supporting the military policies of the "power elite": the competition with the Soviet Union over the industrialization of the underdeveloped part of the world; the fear of the "power elite" of an economic slump, and its desire to maintain "a stable and planned flow of profit," and a "subsidized capitalism."

BUT DO THESE FACTORS convincingly explain the bitter and stubborn conflict between East and West and the huge military preparations resulting therefrom? I believe not. I believe this conflict can only be comprehended in all its implications if it is understood as being the death struggle between two profoundly different economic systems, a conflict created not by "power elites" but by the inexorable historical process which also produced the "power elite" and which uses it as one of its tools.



History has left American capitalism no choice but to fear for its life; it must be apprehensive about the successful growth of countries that are trying to accelerate the development of societies in which privileges and inequalities based on private property and the domination of one class by another no longer exist.

Foremost among those countries are the Soviet Union and China which, in turn, have no choice but to consider the U.S. and the other capitalist nations as their natural adversaries. The fears and suspicions, both real and imaginary, created on either side are the main causes of military preparations and of the great variety of "defense" measures which, in an endless chain, create new reasons for embitterment and for further hostile maneuvers. They create the desire to weaken the opponent or to prevent any development or any move even in distant territories that may strengthen the military potential of the other.

HISTORY, which works through classes and men, has created the antagonism between the capitalist and the non-capitalist world which, today, is most conspicuously represented by the U.S. and the Soviet Union. But neither the capitalist nor the non-capitalist world is a homogeneous entity. It is a mistake to minimize the innumerable tensions, frictions, concrete controversies and differences of interests among the nations belonging to those two parts of the world; and it is an equally great error to neglect, as Prof. Mills seems to do, the significance of the many individual countries of which the two blocs are composed, and to concentrate analysis and discussion almost exclusively on conditions and developments in the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

While these two nations are the mightiest in their respective orbits, they are by no means completely independent in their decisions. Moreover, changes are evolving within the East and the West, such as the increasing strength of China, or the slow emergence of a bloc with potentially great economic power in Europe, which may become very significant for the position that East and West adopt at given times and for the relationship between them.

AS FAR AS THE U.S. herself is concerned, it is a defense of what has been called the "American way of life" which has galvanized her to believe in the necessity of permanent huge military preparations—something, it should not be forgotten, that was completely foreign to her before she felt threatened by a competing and possibly successful economic and social organization of society of a completely different character.

It is a mistake to assume, as Prof. Mills does, that the "power elite" in the U.S. exists in a vacuum. While they may have a great deal to do with the molding of public opinion, large parts of the American public, rightly or wrongly, are in accord with the "power elite" in its belief that the American way of life is superior and should be protected from any encroachment.

The "American way of life," the severe shortcomings of which these masses of people unfortunately ignore, has become their way of life, which they do not want to yield to what they assume is developing in the Soviet Union or in China. This explains why probably no aspect of American public policy in the last decade has enjoyed more support by the American voters than the foreign policy of the Eisenhower and Truman administration.

ANY REALISTIC POLICY toward assuring peace must start with the recognition of these facts: that the real cause of the war danger is the antagonism of two diametrically opposed systems of society and the suspicions, fears and practices engendered by it on either side; that this antagonism is not the creation of the "power elite," which may unduly exploit that antagonism for its own purposes, nor limited to the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and that the peoples themselves, particularly in countries with democratic institutions, cannot be absolved from sharing in the responsibility for continued huge and dangerous military preparations.

Given the nature of the problem, Prof. Mills' numerous suggestions for "the politics of peace" do not seem realistic or satisfactory; not only are they directed almost exclusively at the U.S., but they frequently call for unilateral action which is politically unrealistic and for the most part quite unfeasible.

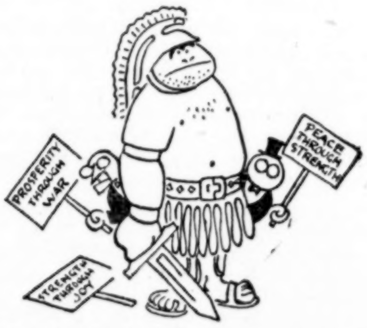
Besides the over-all goals of negotiation and co-existence, Prof. Mills advocates for the U.S., to mention the most important suggestions: industrialization, under UN authority, of undeveloped countries by curtailing the American military budget at once by 20%, and by an additional 10% in each successive year; the building, under UN auspices, of a first class educational system in underdeveloped areas; the cultivation of cultural relations by the abolition of the visa system; the removal from the private economy of all scientific research and development directly or indirectly relevant to the military; the cessation of all testing of nuclear devices; the unilateral cessation of all further production of "extermination" weapons; the abandonment of all military bases and installations outside the U.S.; and the acceptance of an embargo on all arms shipments to the Middle East.

PROF. MILLS himself does not assume that his proposals will be acted upon at an early date since the "power elite" cannot be expected to act and since society will have to be "remade" before his recommendations become practicable. So why make such unrealizable proposals at a time when the danger to mankind is extreme and action is more urgent than ever? The real reason why Prof. Mills' package of recommendations is inadequate is that, as long as war exists as an institution among nations, no nation can be expected to take unilateral action; and piecemeal multilateral actions can, if at all, only be expected to the extent that they do not impair the war-making ability of the respective nations.

"The only realistic military view is the view," Prof. Mills says, "that war, and **not Russia, is now the enemy." And of course, it is equally true for the Soviet Union to say "that war, and not the U.S., is now the enemy." If war is the enemy—and it, indeed,** is the enemy—our efforts must be passionately directed to the abolition of war, not to "limiting" or humanizing war, not merely towards the cessation of tests, or the cultivation of cultural relations, or the industrialization of underdeveloped countries, however worthwhile and necessary such and other proposals may be in their own right.

THE ABOLITION of war is a global problem, not a problem to be solved by the decision makers within the "power elite" of an individual nation, a problem that can be solved only if all nations participate. For the first time in modern history, the abolition of war through the establishment of appropriate international institutions and arrangements, the details of which cannot be outlined here, has become a realistic goal of policy.

The monstrosity of modern weapons has made it possible, however difficult it may be, that this goal actually can be accomplished. Despite the profound antagonism between the capitalist and non-capitalist worlds, nations may consent to eliminate war when they realize, as they must, that all of them have become equally vulnerable, that each of them can be pulverized by others, and that, to use Bertrand Russell's and Albert Einstein's phrase, mankind would, in the event of war, face "the risk of universal death." The price to be paid for peace is the infringement upon the sovereignty of individual nations—without which peace cannot be had.



AS THE GOAL must be the abolition of war, and nothing less, the task must be to arouse the peoples as a whole, not only in the U.S., but also in the Soviet Union, without whose wholehearted, unequivocal cooperation world peace cannot be established. The Soviet Union, so far, has rejected any idea of a real comity of nations, in the name of "world government" or any other description.

The Soviet people must be permitted to know that its security, as the security of any other nation, cannot be assured by weapons, however advanced Soviet science may be, but only by the abolition of war, that the goal must be: "World Peace Through World Law," to use the title of Grenville Clark's and Louis P. Sohn's detailed, imaginative propositions for the establishment of peace.

I HAVE NO ILLUSIONS about the obstacles and opposition everywhere. I am well aware of how difficult it will be to reach the people in the U.S. I fail to understand why Prof. Mills wants to enlist in the struggle for peace only the help of the intellectuals and why he neglects the labor movement almost completely.

Again, I know how difficult it is to penetrate into the ranks of organized and unorganized labor; but the working masses of our people, those who are the principal victims of the inequalities in society, are our natural allies in the fight for a peaceful world.

They must be reached if we do not want to fail. If we find access to them, it will be less difficult than it may appear to secure their help and cooperation. The development of modern weapons has simplified the problem to the extent that everyone to whom the basic information can be given cannot fail to appreciate the prevailing threat to human survival.

***THE CAUSES OF WORLD WAR THREE, by C. Wright Mills. Simon & Schuster, New York. 172 pp. $3.50; $1.50 paperbound.**

American Friends schedule Intl. Relations Conference

ALTERNATIVES To Brinkmanship is the theme of the 19th Annual Institute of Intl. Relations to be held Feb. 13-15 in Syracuse, N.Y.

Sponsored by the New York State Peace Council of the American Friends Service Committee, the three-day session will feature a review of the "Myths of U.S. Foreign Policy" by Brig. Gen. Hugh Hester (U.S. Army, Ret.) and addresses by Prof. Derk Bodde, U. of Pennsylvania authority on China; Caryl Kline, teacher and recent Congressional candidate; and A. J. Muste, secy. emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Reservations may be made through **Lena Gray, 841 University Bldg., Syracuse 2, N.Y.**

GEN. DELGADO THREATENED WITH ARREST

Foe of Salazar dictatorship forced to seek asylum in Brazil embassy

GEN. DELGADO (c.) AS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE LAST YEAR
His popularity made him a menace to Salazar's rule

Special to the Guardian

LONDON

LISBON NEWSPAPERS on Jan. 8 carried an official bulletin that, following an inquiry into his activities since last June's election when he challenged dictator Salazar, Gen. Humberto Delgado had been "separated" from the army active list on three-quarters pay. Four days later the 52-year-old air force general, hatless and without baggage, rushed up to the first floor of the Brazilian embassy and was granted political asylum.

"Free World" newspapers, always liberal with whitewash for Portugal's fascist regime, published the official denial that "anyone was persecuting Delgado." But the Jan. 8 bulletin, calling it a "very serious case" of "breaching military discipline," had also referred to "responsibilities of a criminal nature for which he may be called to answer," and said Delgado would be "under civil law as far as any criminal act is concerned."

The clear inference was that removing Delgado from the active list was a prelude to criminal action against him. Under Portuguese law this exposes him to at least six months' detention without trial.

All opponents of Salazar were mindful of the case of the ailing, 64-year-old Capt. Galvao, who after retirement from active service was detained since 1951 and sentenced last March at a secret trial to 16 years' imprisonment. Galvao's offense was the inclusion of unpleasant facts in a report he was assigned to make on Portuguese Africa.

[It was reported that Senhor Galvao escaped on Jan. 16 from a heavily-guarded room on the seventh floor of Lisbon's Santa Maria hospital. Hospital attendants had earlier reported that Senhor Galvao was paralyzed from the waist down and had to be carried.]

BEVAN BANNED: Delgado—like Galvao, a Catholic and former Salazar supporter—had exposed the fraudulence of the Presidential election and, during the campaign, promised to remove Salazar if he won. Since the election he had tried to keep political issues alive despite the blackout, and with a group of distinguished opposition leaders, including two admirals, had invited Aneurin Bevan for a lecture tour on European and world problems. The government banned the tour and arrested four non-military members of the invitation committee, all over 70.

A few days later Interior Minister Jose Pires Cardozo, who was known to oppose this action, resigned "because of ill health." In banning Bevan the government said it "could not permit the intervention of foreigners in the march of Portuguese internal affairs."

A pamphlet signed by Delgado and others said Bevan would not have lectured on Portuguese affairs, and recalled numerous cases of Germans brought by the government during the war to indoctrinate Portuguese youth and of Italians brought then and since to lecture on the "corporate state."

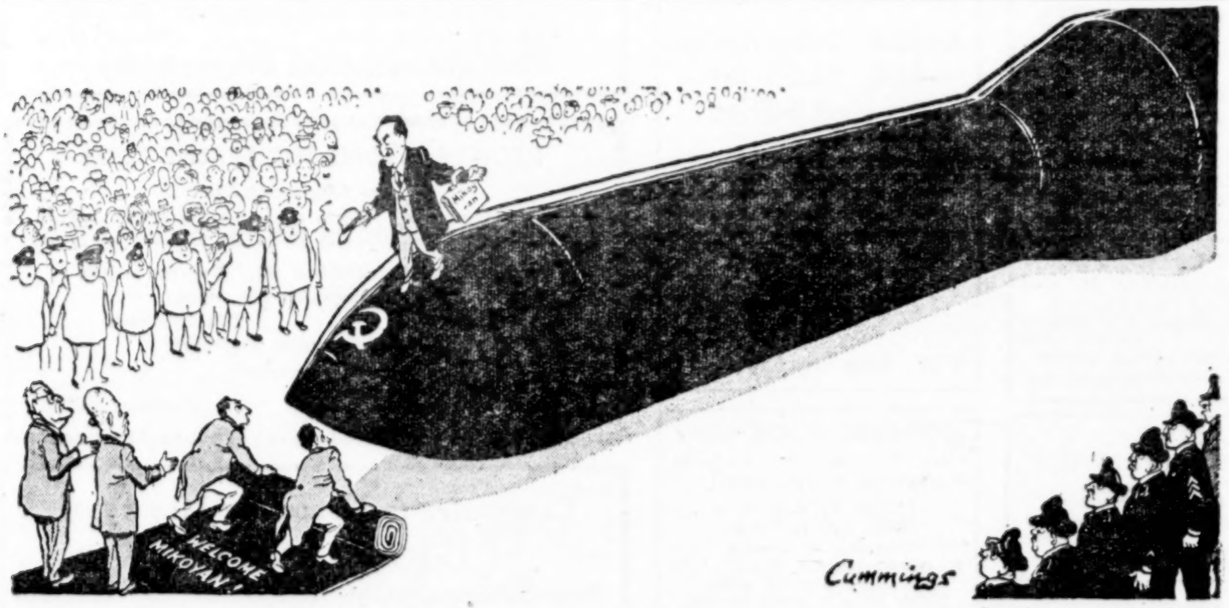
According to the government Delgado was free to leave the country, and many Portuguese democrats thought Salazar would be glad if he did. He has become a symbol to the people as "the man without fear" who for the first time united the opposition to the dictatorship.

SALAZAR SHAKEN: After last year's shock, Salazar is anxious to change the law to make elections entirely "indirect;" elections for local authorities have been indefinitely postponed.

In recent speeches Salazar has appeared on the defensive. He was especially shaken when, last July, the Bishop of Porto circulated a letter violently criticizing both the Portuguese and Spanish regimes. There are strong indications that the Vatican is beginning to regard such regimes as a liability since even the rural masses have been completely turned against them.

The Bishop of Porto said that even in North Portugal rural areas—supposedly a Salazar "stronghold"—congregations left churches en masse whenever the priests talked of supporting the regime.

Lodged in the home of the Brazilian Ambassador, Delgado on the day after his flight was not available to the press. When reporters called, agents of Salazar's PIDE (International and State Security Police) were standing conveniently nearby, outside PIDE headquarters. In Britain, which is preparing a Lisbon "British Trade Fair" in June and anticipating lush trade orders in connection with Salazar's "six-year plan," most newspapers buried the story or reported it with a tinge of embarrassment.



Cummings in London Express

"Please don't bother, Mr. President, I've brought my own . . . er . . . red carpet."

Mikoyan's visit

(Continued from Page 1)

flexible, but noted that the West had offered no "constructive counterproposals and no amendments to our proposals." Talking with Senate leaders in Washington, he was reported to have said:

"The basic trouble is that you don't trust us and we don't trust you, so why don't we make just a little agreement and test our confidence?"

MEETS JEWISH LEADERS: At a Jan. 15 UN news conference, Mikoyan favored "looking for positive decisions, not insisting on our own views when the other partners cannot agree." He stressed the need for "solutions which, one way or another, will meet the interests of all the parties involved." He warned against setting up UN committees which "place the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in a perpetual minority."

Mikoyan was the first top-ranking Soviet official to meet with a Jewish group here; he lunched with representatives of the American Jewish Committee, including former Sen. Herbert H. Lehman and AJC president Irving M. Engle. Afterwards, Lehman said he had been authorized to announce on Mikoyan's behalf that "the reported plan" for the transfer of Russia's Jewish population to a re-created Birobidzhan "is without foundation."

The AJC representatives said they had an "amicable but serious" discussion with the Soviet Deputy Premier and were "gratified" but not necessarily "satisfied" with Mikoyan's denial.

American industrialists and businessmen were favorably impressed by Mikoyan, as were many officials in Washington. Sen. Fulbright (D-Ark.) noted his genuine concern over Germany and found him willing to go "pretty far in trying to find some agreement on Berlin."

FOREIGN MINISTERS? It is doubtful if Mikoyan's visit will lead to an East-West summit meeting, but a foreign ministers' conference, perhaps this spring, seems possible. The basis for such a meeting could be Mikoyan's reported proposal to Senate leaders for either a UN guarantee of a free West Berlin or a permanent international commission to administer West Berlin.

Harold Stassen, who met with Mikoyan, told the World Affairs Council on Jan. 15 he thought German reunification could be initiated by uniting East and West Germany (1) with an agreement for a ten-year status quo for their respective social systems, and (2) by placing it within "a wide central European zone including a small portion of France and a small portion of Russia" free of nuclear weapons. This, Stassen said, should be followed by Germany's agreeing to abide by its present boundaries and by a non-aggression pact between the NATO and the Warsaw Pact nations.

THERE ARE OTHER WAYS: The Mikoyan-Stassen suggestions seemed to point the way to a successful foreign ministers' conference. There were also indications that Mikoyan had forced the Administration to reconsider its hitherto inflexible position on German reunification. Secy. Dulles told newsmen that free elections throughout Germany were not necessarily the only approach to uniting East and West Germany.

In any case, Mikoyan's visit has spectacularly demonstrated that there are other and more effective ways than old-fashioned diplomacy to open up channels of international communication—and to enlist the support of influential segments of a country's population in favor of peace.

Arthur D. Eggleston, newspaperman, dead

ARTHUR D. EGGLESTON, 59, for many years labor editor of the San Francisco **Chronicle** and in the post-war years chief of the press section of the U.S. Office of Military Government in Germany, died Jan. 18 in New York of cancer. Following his return from Germany in 1952, he was for a time labor editor of the N.Y. **Daily Compass** and since 1955 had been head of the New York bureau of Antara, the Indonesian national news agency.

He was born in Farmville, Va., son of Dr. William G. Eggleston, editor, Single Tax advocate and associate of the late Lincoln Steffens. The family moved to Montana, then to California, where Eggleston was graduated from the U. of California, later spending a year at Oxford. He was a reporter on the San Francisco **Examiner** and the **Call-Bulletin** as well as the **Chronicle.** He was a Nieman Fellow in journalism at Harvard in 1939-40. During the war he served with the OWI in New York and London, going from his post there to Germany.

He leaves his wife, Virginia, in New York, and his mother and two brothers in California.

ECLC in Washington

THE EMERGENCY Civil Liberties Committee has opened a Washington office in the Carroll Arms Hotel, First & C. Streets, N.E., just across the street from the Senate Office Building. From this headquarters the Committee publishes a bulletin dealing with Congressional activity relating to civil liberties. The bulletin, entitled "Congress and Your Rights," contains a listing of bills introduced which affect civil liberties, reports on significant legislation and excerpts of editorials, articles and other material in the field.

News and suggestions for the bulletin may be sent to either the national office at 421 Seventh Av., N.Y. 1, N.Y., or to Box 1275, Washington 13, D.C. Friends of ECLC are urged to visit the legislative office while in Washington.

The 'kissing case'

(Continued from Page 1)

zens all over the country, belittling the kissing incident and charging that the children had been sent away because they did not have "proper home care and guidance."

'TREASON': Now, at the Superior Court hearing, Judge Price repeated the state's official line. He added an attack on Williams who had gone to New York to consult with NAACP national officers and to help set up the Committee to Combat Racial Injustice (Suite 1117, 141 Broadway, New York 6, N.Y.). This, he intimated, bordered on treason to the sovereign state of North Carolina.

But Williams said: "I went to New York to solicit funds to bring justice to this social jungle called Dixie." And he reiterated the charges he has made to President Eisenhower, Gov. Hodges, State Commissioner of Correction and Training Blaine M. Madison and anyone else who would listen:

- The boys were struck by the policemen who arrested them.
- The police played sadistic jokes on the children as they held them in a jail with adult prisoners from Oct. 28 to Nov. 4. On Halloween night a figure dressed in a sheet like a ghost or a Klansman stood outside their cell, frightening them so that one of the boys tried to jump out the window.
- At their trial they had no counsel, were not permitted to confront their accusers, and Williams was kept out of the hearing room even though the mothers had requested his presence.

LEGAL CHALLENGE: The battery of defense attorneys included Conrad Lynn of New York, Frank Reeves, NAACP counsel from Washington, D.C., and Kenneth Lee, first Negro graduate of the U. of North Carolina law school. They pointed out that the boys had been arrested on an adult felony warrant and not in accordance with juvenile procedures prescribed by North Carolina law and that their six-day jailing was illegal. They challenged the validity of the North Carolina statutes under which white offenders are considered juveniles until age 20 while Negroes are considered adult criminals at 16.

The state's attorney general did not respond to this challenge and the judge considered it insufficient ground for reversing the sentence. But the NAACP announced it would appeal these issues to the North Carolina Supreme Court at Raleigh and the state is now faced with an even broader assault on its jimcrow system of justice.

Soon after the trial North Carolina state NAACP officials moved the Thompson and Simpson families from the shacks in which they had lived in Monroe to two four-room apartments in a Negro community in nearby Charlotte. The mothers, Mrs. Evelyn Thompson and Mrs. Jennie Simpson, $15-a-week domestic workers, had been fired from various jobs in Monroe since their sons' arrest.

COLOR ALONE: The NAACP also provided clothing for the children of both families and furnishings for the homes. It then set about finding new jobs for the mothers who are the sole means of support in both households. For some of the seven Thompson children the garments were the first new clothing they had had in years. Shirlene and Brenda, seven and six, had not been able to attend school in Monroe during the current school term because they had no clothes to wear.

Referring to the state's contention that her son had been put in reform school because he had a "record" of stealing, Mrs. Thompson said: "They say Hanover stole a piece of ham from a lady's kitchen. I don't know; maybe he did. We were all so hungry most of the time."

PAPER SPEAKS OUT: The first indication that popular dissatisfaction with the state's handling of the case extended beyond the Negro community in North Carolina came in the Charlotte **Observer**, one of the country's leading daily newspapers. In a lead editorial, the **Observer** commented: "If it was necessary that the law do something, it was just as necessary that it do the right thing. Tender age is involved here. These are mere children. They are in no sense criminals. They are more the natural result of an environment which they did not create and which they cannot change."

The afternoon Charlotte **News** also was critical of the handling of the case.

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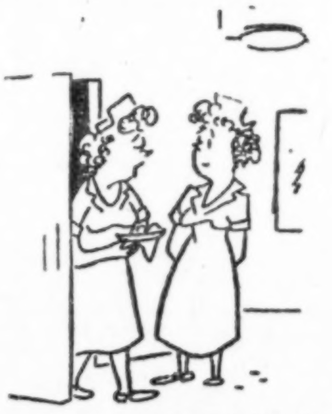
THE GALLERY

WASHINGTON, D.C., BRASS are kicking around the problem of the city's civil defense. At the moment all they can agree on is that it is an important question and they are glad it was raised. Privately they are swearing at the telephone company employes who accidentally triggered 13 air raid alarms on Nov. 25. At that time (see Gallery, 12/15) some of the government workers rushed to shelters, but most of the city ignored the sirens. As a result government agencies have been forced to work out an air raid procedure.

Only the Commerce Dept. has a clear policy. It wants all its employes to head for the basement when an alarm sounds. Most other departments announced they were waiting for a bulletin from the Office of Civil Defense Mobilization.

To the civilian population the problem apparently was academic. On Jan. 10 the city's sirens were tested. The public was not forewarned, and for all they knew it could have been the real thing. However, police reported only a few inquiries. In downtown Washington a reporter stopped a woman who continued with her shopping while the sirens sounded. He asked if she knew why they were wailing. "Am I supposed to know?" she answered. "It's none of my business." Another man said: "They sound them every Saturday at noon." Actually they had not been heard since the false alarm. One man, annoyed at the question, said: "I'm not from Washington, so I wouldn't know."

THE EDITORS OF THE COLUMBIA U. student paper, **Columbia Spectator,** believe that "the recent announcement that Russia has quadrupled its outlay for education is frightening." . . . Frightening, too, is what has been happening to Richard Wolters in Ossining, N.Y. Recently he got a setter puppy which he trained with hand signals for field work. Things went fine until Wolters discovered that he himself was beginning to respond compulsively to hand signals. When his daughter said "sit," he sat—on top of her toy engine. At the railroad station he saw a trainman swing a lantern to the right and Wolters bolted to the right, knocking down a little girl. Instead of picking up the child he swung toward the trainman to see if he would signal him to quarter. The puppy was doing well too. . . . John Seigler was hauled to court in Washington, D.C., for setting fire to his sofa by careless handling of a lighted cigarette. In defense he said: 'Well, judge, I had my pay and this bottle, and, well, judge, I didn't expect to set the world on fire." The judge quipped: "You made a pretty good start, though. Ninety days."



London Evening Standard

"Some of the fun went out of this work when they developed oral penicillin."

AN AUSTRALIAN COUPLE, Mr. and Mrs. Geza Laszloffy, wrote a love song last year called "Underneath A Satellite With You" and shipped it to the U.S.S.R. They predicted that their "song will hypnotize Mr. Khrushchev and bring peace to the world." Recently they received a letter from the chief editor of the Soviet Music Publishing House telling them that their ballad was given to composer M. Jordansky for final editing and would soon be "issued to the world." In the Soviet Union it will be retitled, "Underneath A Sputnik With You." . . . NBC commentator Frank Bourgholtzer told a convention of the California Farm Bureau that "once communism has touched something it is never the same." He said that if Germany were reunited, he believes many East Germans would hesitate to turn state-owned industry back to private ownership.

IN LONDON, READERS of the **Daily Express** were asked to elect a "World Cabinet" to meet a "threat to the Earth from Outer Space." They were told to "select the strongest team available, irrespective of nation, race and party color." They chose: Prime Minister, Khrushchev; Foreign Secy., Adlai Stevenson; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Ludwig Erhard (W. Germany); Defense, De Gaulle; Trade, Mikoyan; Transport, Adenauer; Labor, Bevan; Power, Sir John Cockroft; Education, Diefenbaker (Canada); Agriculture, Macmillan; Health, Menzies (Australia). The only woman who placed well in the voting was Eleanor Roosevelt. . . . Washington **Post** writer Philip Stoddard Brown says: "Inflation is more in the mind than in actual pricing of goods when we pay $5 for a necktie instead of $1.50 we used to pay."

—**Robert E. Light**

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the SPECTATOR

The vulture's cry

I WAS AT THE SHOREHAM HOTEL in Washington, D.C., on Dec. 27 attending a morning meeting of the American Assn. for the Advancement of Science. I had gone to this symposium on Controversial Areas in 20th Century Criminology to find out what was being said and done about the injustices which exist in our courts and prisons.

Following a presentation on the growing support for the American League to Abolish Capital Punishment by its executive director Sara B. Ehrmann, and an announcement that the film, "I want to Live," would be shown that evening, was an unscheduled speaker, Dr. Jack Kevorkian of Michigan. His topic was announced as Capital Punishment or Capital Gain.

[*The Washington* Post *reported Dr. Kevorkian's proposal: "He explained that at the time set for . . . execution, the condemned man would be anesthetized, never to regain consciousness. Scientists could then use the living body for research. . . . When the experiment was over—in a few hours, possibly several months—the human guinea pig would be put to death by an overdose of the anesthetic."*]

MY FIRST REACTION, as he began to present his idea that medical science needed to use the bodies which were now being wasted through execution, was that he was attacking capital punishment by showing its logical outcome. But to my horror, I realized this man was serious. Since we had capital punishment, and would obey the law by a skillful and painless killing, why not profit by the situation?

As he spoke on and on, outlining the procedures, the guarantees that this would be carried out only with the consent of the condemned person, I was in the death chamber with Ethel and Julius. I saw the thousands and thousands of faces contorted with grief, I felt all of the hope and terror and sorrow as Ethel kissed the matron. Still he spoke on, arguing that this was to be different from the experiments carried out by the Nazi doctors because anesthesia would be used. Even innocent persons could benefit by such a procedure, since the additional time while he was in coma could result in his being saved if new evidence were produced in that interval.

MORTON SOBELL
What will you do to help?

I had the feeling of having gone far away from the meeting and I was talking to Mort and saying to him: "Look, they found they were innocent, but it was toc late."

THIS IS NO MADMAN'S SCHEME, I reminded myself. Just as mice eat their abnormal young, this theory of death and destruction is being proposed.

Dr. Kevorkian's voice hammered on telling how the bodies would be decently sewn up for burial, and I saw the mothers and the wives, the children standing around the coffin of their beloved, and the air around me became thick and heavy, and the world dark and ugly. His voice rose as he extolled the advances that science could make if it were not hampered by the limitation of concern for life. His professional voice described the inducement of the coma at the time scheduled for execution, and I felt myself, with Morton, swinging into a darkness, past the death chamber.

I found myself on the floor. I heard a voice calling: "Is there a doctor here?" and someone was lifting my head and asking me questions. I thought to myself: "I shouldn't have let myself faint. I shouldn't have. I have to tell these people about Morty, and now how am I going to be able to do it?" I told them I was all right.

I LISTENED TO a concluding address and kept telling myself: "Calm down, think, so when you get a chance in the discussion period you will be able to make them understand."

So I did tell them, in discussion period, about Ethel and Julius and about Morton, and about the need to view people as human beings. I reminded them that it was in their name that Morton was continuing in prison; I told them of his innocence and I asked them to do something about it.

On Monday, when I saw Morton in Atlanta, we talked, and I assured him that I was only a few bruises the worse for wear. He told me that he had heard of Dr. Kevorkian's address, and that all through the prison there had been a reaction of fear and revulsion.

When I told him of the response of the meeting, the intense interest, he said: "The most important thing to me is the fact that we have friends everywhere, but how do we reach them all?"

We have friends everywhere, and we must reach them if we are to free Mort and not have a country where inhuman things can happen. Write to me and tell me what you will do to help. My address is 940 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y.

—Helen Sobell